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2020-09

Huhtamäki , M , Lindström , J & Londen , A-M 2020 , ' Other-repetition sequences in Finland Swedish : Prosody, grammar, and context in action ascription ' , Language in Society , vol. 49 , no. 4 , 0047404520000056 , pp. 653-686 . <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404520000056>

<http://hdl.handle.net/10138/322841>

<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404520000056>

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Other-repetition sequences in Finland Swedish

Prosody, grammar, and context in action ascription

Martina Huhtamäki, Jan Lindström and Anne-Marie Londen

ABSTRACT¹

This study examines other-repetitions in Finland Swedish talk-in-interaction: their sequential trajectories, prosodic design and lexico-grammatical features. The key objective is to explore how prosody can contribute to the action conveyed by a repetition turn, i.e. whether it deals with a problem of hearing or understanding, a problem of expectation or just registers receipt of information. The analysis shows that large and upgraded prosodic features (higher onset, wider pitch span than the previous turn) co-occur with repair- and expectation-oriented repetitions, whereas small, downgraded prosody (lower onset, narrower pitch span than the previous turn) is characteristic of registering. However, the distinguishing strength of prosody is mostly gradient (rather than discrete), and because of this, other concomitant cues, most notably the speakers' epistemic positions in relation to the repeated item, are also of importance for ascribing a certain pragmatic function to a repetition.

¹ This paper is published in *Language in Society* 49:4. Pp. 653-686. Special issue on *Other-Repetition in Conversation across Languages* (ed. by Giovanni Rossi). September 2020. doi:10.1017/S0047404520000056.

Keywords: repetition, other-repetition, action ascription, prosody in conversation, repair, epistemics, conversation analysis, interactional linguistics, Finland Swedish.

1. Introduction

Repetition and using material from prior talk is “enormously common in conversational interaction” (Schenkein 1980:269). Through repetition the speaker can produce utterances and manage topical coherence, show active listenership and ratify or accept another’s contributions (Tannen 2007 [1989]:61). The speaker may repeat his or her own words, i.e. do a *self-repetition*, or repeat what another speaker has said, in which case we talk about *other-repetition*. This study focuses on certain types of other-repetition and their prosodic, grammatical and functional features in Finland-Swedish talk-in-interaction. Based on our data, and in accordance with parallel studies on other-repetitions in English, Finnish, French and Italian in this special issue, three basic functional categories were identified: i) next-turn repair initiation, ii) reaction to an unexpected informing, reporting, or opinion, and iii) registering what another has said (see also Benjamin & Walker 2013, Persson 2015, Schegloff 1997, Walker & Benjamin 2017, among others). Given that the lexico-grammatical appearance of these sub-types of repetition may be rather similar, we are in the first place investigating the signaling value of prosody that might contribute to functional differentiation, and thus action ascription.

The findings in this study suggest that there indeed are some significant correlations between the interactional meaning and prosodic nuancing of other-repetitions, but prosodic cueing works in Finland Swedish mainly in a *gradient*, rather than in a *discrete* way (see Rossi, this issue). This differs from some of the languages studied in this special issue, most notably French (see Persson, this issue) but

coincides with others, like Finnish (see Stevanovic et al., this issue). For example, there are differences in action depending on how “small” or “large” the prosody of a repetition is on a gradient (cf. Pillet-Shore 2012), as well as if it is downgraded or upgraded in relation to the previous turn (cf. Curl 2005; Ogden 2006). However, falling final intonation occurs in 70% (N=71/102) of the repetitions analyzed for this study, which means that pitch contour alone is not a general distinguishing cue between the actions implemented through repetition. Hence, the same kind of contour may be detected in different functions, like a moderately rising pitch contour in repair initiations and in displays of challenge; but the higher the pitch rise, the more likely it is that the speaker displays surprise with the repetition turn, rather than just repair. As will become evident in our analysis, the speaker’s epistemic relation to the repeated item – i.e. who is more knowledgeable about the matter at hand – also contributes to action ascription (see Robinson 2013), alongside prosody, lexico-grammar, sequential and other contextual factors.

2. Finland Swedish as a variety of Swedish

Swedish enjoys the status of official language in both Sweden and Finland, and it is thus a pluricentric language with two national norm centers. Swedish in Finland is a non-dominant variety, spoken as a first language by about 300,000 people, i.e. 5.3% of the Finnish population of about 5.5 million (Norrby et al. 2012). While the syntax and lexicon of Finland Swedish are mostly convergent with Sweden Swedish, the two varieties differ significantly in phonology (Reuter 1992). One key difference concerns the lack of tonal word accents in Finland Swedish, which in Sweden Swedish can be used to distinguish between word meanings like *ánden* ‘the wild duck’ (acute accent) and *ànden* ‘the spirit’ (grave accent) (Reuter 1992, Bruce 2010:55; Riad 2014:14, 181). Focal accent in spontaneous

southern Finland Swedish is marked with one pitch peak on the accented syllable (Aho 2010: 62, 72, cf. Bruce 2004).

There is wide agreement in the literature that the most frequent final intonation contour in Finland Swedish is falling (e.g. Kuronen & Leinonen 2008; Aho 2010; cf. Stevanovic et al. this issue on Finnish), and this is also evident in most of the other-repetitions in the collection used for this study. However, there are not many studies on utterance-level prosody or prosody in spontaneous, interactional speech. An exception is Huhtamäki's (2012) interactional study of prosodic features of questions, according to which final falling intonation and rising-falling intonation are most common in syntactic interrogatives. Final falling intonation is also the most common contour in questions without interrogative syntax (Huhtamäki 2014). This means that intonation seems to be used to an even lesser degree than in Sweden Swedish to distinguish between sentence types (cf. Gårding 1998, Riad 2014:266, not based on interactional studies). That said, rising intonation occurs to some extent in other-initiated repair and in certain types of questions (Huhtamäki 2015a).

Prosodic features such as pitch span, position in the speaker's voice range, and timing do seem to distinguish between certain kinds of action, as Huhtamäki (2015b) shows in a study of the word *va* 'what' as a repair initiator. A *va* that includes an affective stance has a wide pitch span, is produced high in the speaker's voice range and is delayed in relation to the previous turn, while a *va* that signals a problem of hearing or understanding does not show these features (see also Selting 1996 on German).

As Finland Swedish shares certain phonological features with Finnish – arguably resulting from language contact – it can be described as lying somewhere in between Sweden Swedish and Finnish in these respects (see Reuter 1992; Aho 2010). The findings of this study support further similarities with Finnish in the domain of prosody and pragmatics (see Stevanovic et al., this issue), including the importance of gradient features of prosody in marking pragmatic distinctions and the use of certain

discourse particles (e.g. *aj* as a change-of-state token). This adds to the evidence of pragma-cultural language contact between Swedish and Finnish in Finland (see Saari 1995).

3. Data and methods

The participants in our data live in the capital region on the southern coast of Finland, and speak a variety that differs prosodically from varieties of Sweden Swedish, and somewhat from Finland Swedish dialects on the northwestern coast (cf. Bruce 2004). Our data consists of video- and audio-recordings of face-to-face interactions. The majority of interactions took place spontaneously in informal and institutional settings; additionally, a number of pre-arranged but unscripted group discussions are included (see Table 1). The informal conversations are among friends and families drinking tea or eating and chatting, while the institutional interactions consist of service encounters (e.g. purchases of theater tickets). The arranged interactions are sociolinguistic interviews which have the character of focus groups. Some of the older recordings in our corpus are audio-only, but no telephone conversations are included. Many of the interactions are multi-person.

Table 1. Types of research data, number and hours of recordings

	Number	Hours
<i>Informal settings</i>	14	14:01:03
<i>Institutional settings</i>	30	3:29:25

<i>Pre-arranged group discussions</i>	16	6:21:59
<i>Multi-person interactions</i>	27	16:30:50
<i>Dyadic interactions</i>	33	7:21:37
<i>Video recordings</i>	43	15:03:42
<i>Audio-only recordings</i>	17	8:48:45

The data comprises a total of 60 recordings for about 24 hours, and the speakers are aged 9 to 89. In our search for representative instances we collected all other-repetitions occurring in this data, defined by the sequential criteria specified in Section 4 below and in the introduction to this special issue (Rossi, this issue). This collection is the basis for our analysis and consists of 150 cases, which are distributed across the functional categories in the following way: repetitions dealing with problems of hearing or understanding (N=25), repetitions dealing with unexpectedness (N=62), and registering repetitions (N=63). The sections below offer qualitative analyses of illustrative cases of each functional category.

The analysis of the prosodic features was performed by a combination of an auditory and acoustic analysis using the software Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2019). We present the original turn and the repetition as they occur after one another in the form of pitch traces and waveforms in annotated figures made in Praat. The pitch traces are plotted on a logarithmic Hertz scale, as it better captures pitch variation than a linear scale. The talk is segmented into syllables, to present how the pitch is aligned with each syllable (see Rossi, this issue). To make the pitch figures visually more

comparable across male and female speakers, we plotted the pitch trace on generic ranges of 50–300 Hz for men and 100–500 Hz for women. If the speakers of the original turn and the repetition include both males and females, the range for the male speakers is marked to the left in the figure and the range of the female speakers to the right. In the case of children, we used the voice range 100–600 Hz. To mark the analytically central contributions in the transcripts we have **bolded** the original turn (including the translation) and in addition **highlighted** the repetition turn.

4. Structure of other-repetition sequences

To begin with, we present an extract (1) that demonstrates the key features of the sequential structure of other-repetitions included in our collection. The extract is from a sociolinguistic interview among Swedish-speaking young people in Helsinki, and despite the pre-arranged meeting, the interaction is unscripted and very informal. There are three participants, the interviewer and two senior high school students. The interviewer initiates the sequence asking the students how their life will differ from the present-day situation when they become university students (l. 1).

(1) “Harder” (HI:08)

01 Int: hur kommer de att skilja #sej#.
 how will it differ

02 Gun:	<u>hårdare</u> .	ORIGINAL TURN
	<i>harder</i>	
03 Int:	<u>hårdare</u> .	REPETITION TURN

	harder	
04 Gun:	jå	RESPONSE TURN
	yes	
05	(0.3)	
06	tuffare höhhä:	
	tougher höhhä ((laughter))	

One of the students (Gunilla) responds with one word, *hårdare* ‘harder’ (l. 2), and the interviewer repeats the word in line 3. Gunilla’s turn in line 2 is what we call *the original turn* (or the original) while the interviewer’s turn in line 3 is referred to as *the repetition turn*. Most but not all repetition turns are followed by a *response turn* (line 4), which may include an affirmative particle and, depending on the function of the repetition, other actions such as clarification (this comes in the continuation in line 6). We will return to an analysis of this extract in the next section.

Other-repetitions can be *exact* or *modified*. In addition to being lexically exact, the repetition in (1) is also a *full repetition* as it reproduces all of the original turn (see Robinson & Kevoe-Feldman 2010). If the original turn had been a clause, like *It will be harder*, and the repetition turn had reproduced only the adjective *harder*, the repetition would have been *partial* (see Robinson 2013). As for modification of the repetition, this can be done, for example, through the insertion of a particle in the repetition turn: *Oh, harder*.

5. Other-repetitions dealing with problems of hearing and understanding

In this section we discuss repetitions that are used to initiate repair of problems of hearing and understanding, which are typically intertwined with one another in our data. Extract (1) above provided a case where such problems arise and it is reiterated with a bit more context below. The interviewer (Int) poses in line 1 a question that concerns the experiential world of the two high school students present (Gunilla and Camilla): how will their life change when they have started to study at the university level?

01 Int: hur kommer de att skilja #sej#.
 how will it differ

02 Gun: **hårdare.**
 harder

03 Int: **hårdare.**
 harder

04 Gun: jå
 yes

05 (0.3)

06 Gun: tuffare höh[hä:
 tougher höhhä ((laughter))

07 Cam: [hähä:

08 Int: trodde ni.

that's what you ((pl.)) thought

09 (0.6) ((everybody is laughing))

10 Gun: °nä:°
no

11 Cam: [()]

12 Int: [vaffö- vafför kommer de att va hårdare.
why is it going to be harder

Gunilla responds with the adjective *hårdare* ‘harder’ in the comparative degree which is repeated by the interviewer in line 3. Gunilla then confirms with the particle *jå* ‘yes’, treating the repetition as a possible indication of a hearing problem. A gap of 0.3 seconds ensues after which she adds a clarification, or a paraphrase, *tuffare* ‘tougher’. This clarification suggests that Gunilla interprets the gap following her affirmative response as indicative of another kind of trouble with the original turn, namely failed understanding. The interviewer then makes a jocular comment in line 8, which aligns with the students’ laughter in lines 6 and 7, and pursues further talk about why life will be ‘harder’ (line 10). This turn could have been a straight follow-up of the reply to the initial question in line 2. Instead, the repetition turn halts the sequential progressivity and initiates an insert sequence typical of other-initiated repair (see Schegloff 2007:102).

As regards prosody, the repetition is a little more prominent relative to the original turn (see Fig. 1). This depends on a higher onset of the repetition turn than of the original turn, as well as on a wider

pitch span of the repetition turn (5.5 ST) than the original turn (2.5 ST). This is a typical prosodic pattern in our repair-oriented repetitions. The intonation contour in both turns is overall falling.

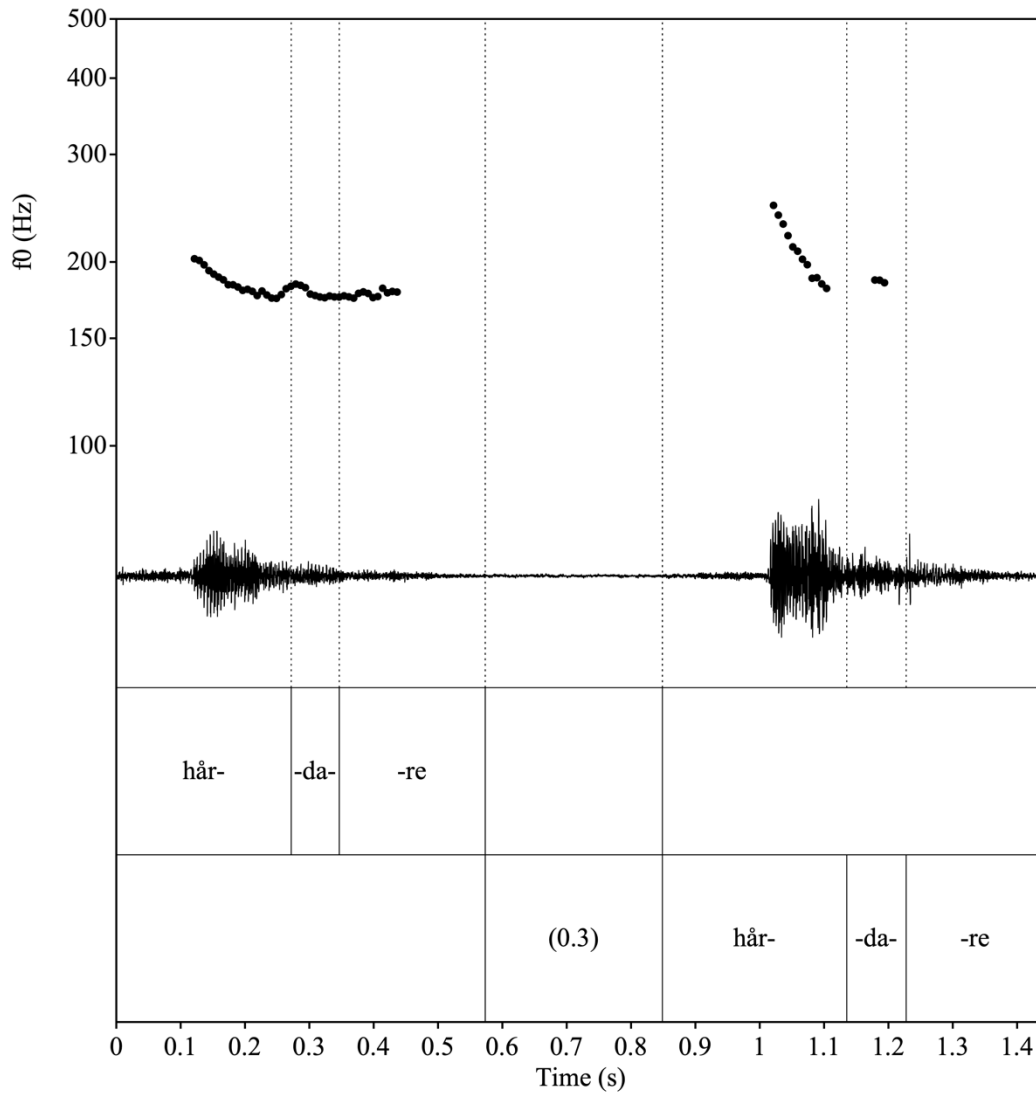


Figure 1. Pitch trace and waveform of lines 2 and 3 in (3); female speakers. (The lower limit of 100 Hz and the upper limit of 500 Hz help to visualize the placement of the pitch traces in the generic ranges of female speakers.)

Extract (2) presents another case in which the speaker of the repetition turn signals a problem with hearing and/or understanding. The repetition is again a full recycling of the previous turn, a bi-syllabic item that is accented on the second syllable. The extract comes from a discussion between two fellow students, Vera and Lars, who are having tea at Vera's home. Vera asks in line 1 if there is something special happening in the fall. Lars replies that the orchestra he is playing in is going to Stockholm for a festival (l. 2–3), and Vera receives this information with the acknowledgement token *okej* 'okay' (l. 4). In line 5 Lars offers the name of the festival, *NATOM* (an acronym).

(2) "NATOM" (Kvällste/Evening tea)

- 01 Vera: e de nå °speciellt som händer på hösten°
is there something special happening in the fall
- 02 Lars: nå vi ska fa (0.5) me Namn på orkester
well we're going (0.5) with the Name of Orchestra
- 03 ska vi fa ti Stockholm på festival.
we're going to Stockholm to a festival
- 04 Vera: okej?
okay
- 05 Lars: **NATOMhh.**
- 06 (0.4)
- 07 Vera: **NAT^hOM?**

08 Lars: *jå ((gaze at V))*
 yes

09 Vera: **↑m. ((*nods upwards))*

10 Lars: *nordisk amatör (d-) (1.3) orkester: (1.0) mission*
 Nordic amateur (d-) (1.3) orchestra (1.0) mission

11 *:-)elä nå sänhänt:-), ((smiling, lightly shaking his head))*
 or something like that

12 Vera: *o↑kej. ((smiling))*
 okay

After a gap of 0.4 seconds, Vera repeats *NATOM* (l. 7). Lars first orients to it as an indication of a possible problem of hearing, by simply confirming with *jå* ‘yeah.’ Then Vera responds minimally, *m* (l. 9), which is ambiguous in that it does not clearly signify whether she just receives Lars’ informing or really understands the reference. After that, Lars clarifies the acronym by spelling it out (adding a hedge to this), thus orienting to a problem of understanding. Vera acknowledges the clarification with *okej* ‘okay’ accompanied with a smile in line 12, which suggests that she has at this point gathered the meaning of *NATOM*.

There are several features contributing to the action performed with Vera’s repetition turn. The repetition follows an 0.4 gap, which contributes to signaling that there is some kind of problem (cf. Pomerantz & Heritage 2013; Kendrick & Torreira 2015). Although it at first looks like the problem might lie with hearing, it is in the end content related. The participants have arguably asymmetric epistemic access (see Heritage 2012) to what kind of festival Lars is going to participate in and what

the acronym *NATOM* stands for. As pointed out by Robinson (2013), epistemics is an important resource for action ascription in other-repetitions. Lars' knowledge of his and Vera's epistemic relationship helps him treat Vera's repetition as a K- action, that is, an action that indexes its producer's "lack of understanding of the repeated item" (see Robinson 2013:265).

The phonetic-prosodic design of the repetition in (2) differs from that of the original (see Fig. 2). The intonation contour on the accented syllable falls over a few semitones (3.6 ST) in the original turn, while it rises on the accented syllable in the repetition, having a much wider pitch span (9.4 ST). As in (1), the pitch onset is slightly higher in the speaker's range in the repetition than in the original. The repetition is in addition produced with an aspirated [t] (VOT = 80 ms), which reflects a clearer articulation than in the original turn. These prosodic features work together for heightened prominence. As there are so few cases with final rising intonation in our data, it is difficult to know what the importance of this contour is, but it is possible that it adds a questioning quality to the repetition (cf. Gårding 1998, Riad 2014 on interrogatives in Swedish).

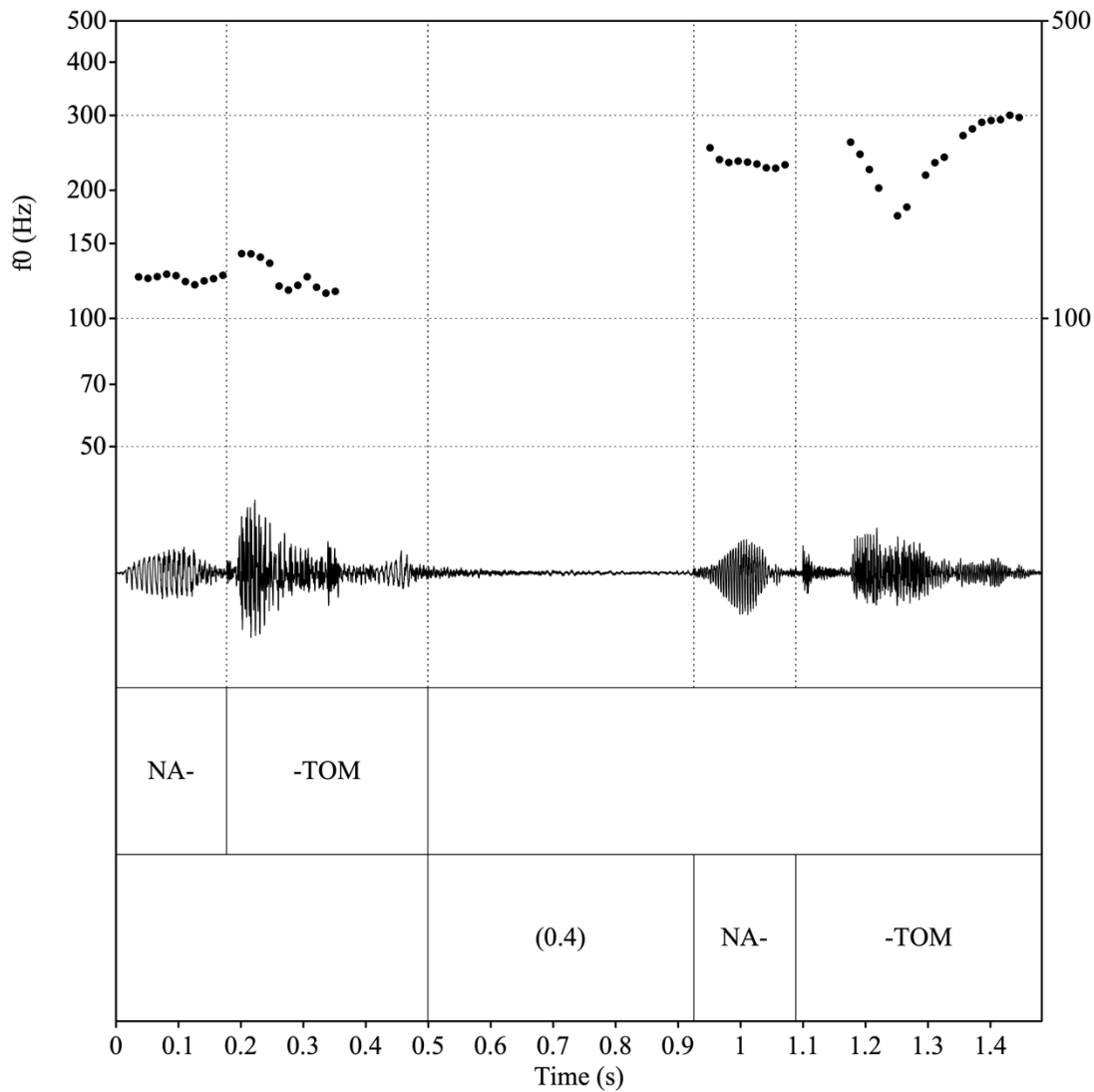


Figure 2. Pitch trace and waveform of line 5 in (2); male speaker in original turn, female speaker in repetition. (The dashed lines help to visualize the placement of the pitch traces in the generic ranges of 50-300 Hz and 100-500 Hz for male and female speakers respectively.)

In general, repair-oriented repetitions have a (moderately) higher onset, wider pitch span and are produced higher in the speaker's range than the original. Most of the repetitions have falling intonation contours, but a rising contour as in (2) also occurs. Consequently, we cannot see that the intonation

contour would work as a reliable distinguishing feature in this type of repetitions. The key for functional identification is that the prosody of the repetition tends to be somewhat *upgraded* (e.g. in pitch span, onset) than that of the original turn, but also other factors contribute, not least epistemic constellations between the speakers (i.e. what the other is expected to know). Epistemics, as we will see, helps us draw a clearer line between actions of repair initiation like (1) and (2) above and certain actions going beyond repair initiation like (3) and (4) below, which otherwise share some features in their prosodic design (higher onset, wider pitch span than in the original).

Typical responses to problems of hearing include an initial confirming response particle (*jå*, *ja* or *jo*), and in the case of failed understanding a clarification or specification is offered. In both extracts (1) and (2), the repair-initiating K– action is at first followed by a confirming token that suggests an orientation to a problem of hearing and is then followed by a clarifying move that treats the repetition as an indication of failed understanding. This may reflect a seriousness order, since adequate hearing is a prerequisite for understanding (Svennevig 2008), but it might also be socially more preferred to assume a problem with audibility in the current situation than another’s ability to comprehend what has been said.

6. Other-repetitions dealing with problems of expectation

Many of the other-repetitions in our collection deal with issues that go beyond problems of audibility or understanding. They may, for example, be a means to challenge the relevance or acceptability of what the previous speaker has said (see Benjamin & Walker 2013) or display surprise at what is reported (see Wilkinson & Kitzinger 2006). These two functions of other-repetition are addressed in sub-

sections 6.1 and 6.2, respectively. Generally, these other-repetitions deal with an unexpected turn of events from the point of view of the producer of the repetition.

6.1 Challenging the acceptability of an expression

In extract (3) we find a case where the repetition is used to question the acceptability of the content of a prior turn. This is a conversation between two female roommates in their twenties, Marina and Klara. Marina launches a topic by saying that maybe *she* should make contact with a man she has met (l. 1–2). The topic is new in this conversation, but probably familiar to the participants as Marina uses a recognitional reference form, *den där weirdon* ‘that weirdo.’ Klara encourages Marina to meet the man (l. 3), but then Marina shows hesitance (l. 4). In overlap, Klara asks: *sku ni int fa på terde* ‘weren’t you going to a *terde*’ and Marina repeats the word *terde* in line 6 (*terde* is slang for a ‘beer garden’ or a ‘pavement café,’ Fi. *terassi*, Sw. *terrass*).

(3) “Terde” (Roommates)

01 Marina: nå kanske ja då borde ta kontakt
 well maybe I then should make contact

02 ti den dä weirdon,
 with that weirdo

03 Klara: gör de.
 do that

04 Marina: °men int [vet ja nu°
 but I don't know then

05 Klara: [sku ni int fa på terde.
weren't you going to a terde (('beer garden'))

06 Marina: ↑terde.

07 Klara: ja du sa att ni sku fa på terde (.)
yes you said that you would go to a terde (.)

08 att de hade han (.) sagt.
that he had said so

09 Marina: ↑nä han sa bara att
no he just said that

10 mennään drinksulle joskus.
"let's go for a drink sometime" ((in Finnish))

11 Klara: °a:°,
I see

In line 7 Klara responds to the repetition with an affirmative particle and an evidential claim about what Marina has said earlier. This is a way of reminding Marina of why *fa på terde* 'go to a beer garden' is relevant and serves as a justification for the words Klara has used. Nonetheless, Marina has arguably more knowledge of the reported event and the repeated item than Klara, and because of this epistemic constellation Klara can hear Marina's repetition as a K+ action. Such actions go beyond signaling problems with hearing or understanding and instead index their producers' doubts with the repeated item, for example, concerning its accuracy, relevance or appropriateness (see Robinson

2013:265). Marina's more knowable position becomes clear in her response in lines 9–10, where she negates Klara's claim and cites what was actually said in Finnish. The code switching serves to display Marina's epistemic authority, representing the language and the (claimed) wording in the situation she experienced first-hand.

As for prosody, the repetition differs from the original turn with regard to pitch, volume, length and breathiness. However, the difference is not as big as in repetitions signaling surprise (see Extracts 5 and 6 below). The repetition starts high in the speaker's pitch range (see Fig. 3) and the pitch onset is higher than in the original turn. The first syllable *ter-* is accented in both turns, having a fall in the original and a rise-fall in the repetition. The rising-falling pitch accent differs from the simple falling and rising ones we saw in the repair-oriented repetitions. The pitch span of the repetition (16.3 ST) is wider than in the original turn (11.7 ST), although both are wide. Furthermore, the repetition is silent and breathy, and a bit shorter than the repeated word in the original turn; these features may contribute to the hesitancy to accept the presupposition of the question in the original turn.

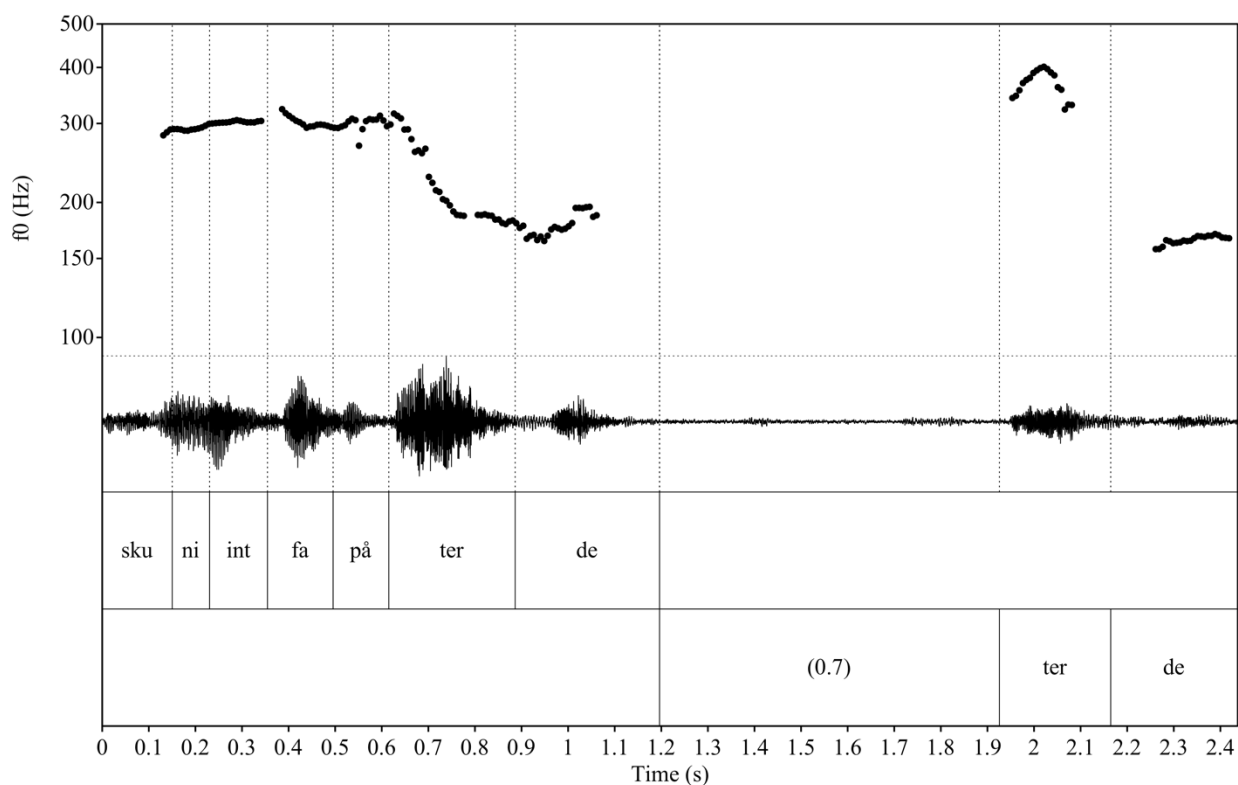


Figure 3. Pitch trace and waveform of lines 5 and 6 in (3); female speakers.

Extract (4) gives us a case that deals with the acceptability of a characterization expressed by the other. The repetition is an adverbial phrase (*mest som jag* ‘most like me’) that is a partial repetition of a clausal unit in the original turn. The extract comes from a conversation with three participants: the young couple Disa and Simon, who are having breakfast with Disa’s younger sister Miranda. The fact that Disa is pregnant is known to Miranda, and before the extract begins, Disa has announced to her sister that she is in “week twelve now.” At this point they do not want to keep this news secret from relatives and friends any longer. In line 1 Simon reports that they have called his mother, who would call his sisters. This leads to a sequence in which Disa assesses Simon and his two sisters.

(4) “Most like me” (Breakfast chat)

01 Simon: vi ringd åt mamma å hon sku berätt åt mina systrar, (.)
we called Mom and she would tell my sisters (.)

02 å sen följande moron ringd (1.0)
and then the following morning (1.0)

03 Lina å gratulera, ja tror Lina va nästan-
Lina called to congratulate us. I think Lina was almost-

04 hon va nästan gladast av allihop.
she was almost happiest of all
((D looking at S-----))

05 Miranda: [[mm
 [[mm

06 Disa: [[nå hon e ju allti de.*
 [[well she is PRT always that way
 ((D looking at S-----))
 *((D lifts her eyebrows, smiles))

07 Simon: jä.
 yeah

08 Miranda: mhuhmhuhmhuhuh ((laughing))

09 Disa: **hon e mest som duh, ((looking at S))**
she is most like you

- 10 (1.4)
- 11 Simon: mest som ↑ja:g. hh
most like me
- 12 Disa: ↑ja-a. sådär liksom mest hjärtli.
yeah. sort of most hearty
- 13 Simon: ja↑ha?
right
- 14 Miranda: m.
- 15 Disa: m.
- 16 (3.5) ((S scratches his head))
- 17 Simon: m.
- 18 Disa: mest genuin kanske. elä så hä- nå- ((looking at S))
most genuine maybe. or like this- well-
- 19 fast Julia e på ett annat sätt nu men,
though Julia is in another way
- 20 hon e lite mer sådär cynisk. (.)
she is a little more sort of cynical (.)

- 21 cynist hjärtlig.
 cynically hearty
- 22 Simon: *ehe [hehehehehähēhes- (.) hehehehe
 * ((S leans back))
- 23 Disa: [ähähähmhmh
- 24 Miranda: [mhmhmh (2.0) med måTTA. hähä
 [mhmhmh (2.0) *in moderation* hähä
- 25 Simon: °ja°. hh
 °yes°

In his turn in lines 1–4, Simon reports on the reaction of his sister Lina, who seemed to be happiest of all. Simultaneous responses follow: by Miranda with the token *mm* and by Disa with the assessment that Lina is always like that. A short response token from Simon and laughter from Miranda follow, after which Disa, addressing Simon, proceeds by producing another characterization of Lina: *hon e mest som du* ‘she is most like you’ (l. 9). With this turn, Disa is complimenting both Simon and his sister for pro-social behavior. There is a 1.4 second gap (l. 10) which indicates trouble (cf. Kendrick 2015; Kendrick & Torreira 2015) – apparently, Simon is not sure how to treat and respond to Disa’s characterization. He then repeats (with a deictic shift) the key components in it: *mest som jag* ‘most like me’ (l. 11).

Disa’s response consists of the prolonged confirmation token *ja-a?* ‘yeah,’ followed by the positive assessment ‘sort of most hearty’ (line 12). Simon’s repetition turn has invited a response consisting of

more than a confirmation (cf. Sorjonen 1996:292), making Disa accountable for her opinion: through her second assessment in line 12 she seeks to justify her initial characterization of Simon's sister Lina, and indirectly of Simon himself. Simon receives this assessment with the particle *jaha*, a weak news receipt (l. 13). A long pause follows, during which Simon scratches his head and then produces the minimal receipt token *m* (l. 17). As the problem does not appear to be resolved, Disa takes the turn and starts elaborating on her earlier justification (l. 18–21), which eventually leads to common laughter initiated by Simon, indicating resolution.

With the original turn that is followed by repetition, Disa enters into Simon's territory of knowledge, as the assessment involves his and his sisters' personality, and the repetition can thus be heard as a K+ action indicating some doubt or challenge towards the item repeated, which then leads to Disa's justifying move. Furthermore, the initial assessment in line 9 contains potential praise of Simon and one of his sisters, which means that it is delicate for Simon how to respond (cf. Pomerantz & Heritage 2013). Simon's non-verbal conduct – scratching his head, gazing down and withholding response – also suggests that he is not quite comfortable with Disa's characterization.

In addition to the repetition being late in relation to the original turn, its prosodic design differs a lot from the original turn. These differences concern final intonation, type of focal accent, voice quality and speech rate. The final intonation of the original turn is level, while it is falling in the repetition (see Fig. 4), and there is a turn-final creak. The phrase-final *du* 'you' in the original turn is accented but pronounced short, while the corresponding accented *jag* 'me' in the repetition is prolonged. Further, the focal accent is level in the original turn, while there is an upstep and a fall in the repetition. We can also notice that the original turn starts below the middle of the speaker's voice range, while the repetition starts higher, and the pitch span is wider. It is further worth noting that the repetition is much slower than the original: both turns last about 1 second, but the original turn contains five syllables and the

repetition only three syllables. The observed epistemic, embodied and prosodic cues then signal together that the speaker is puzzled and hesitant, directing some challenge to what the other said.

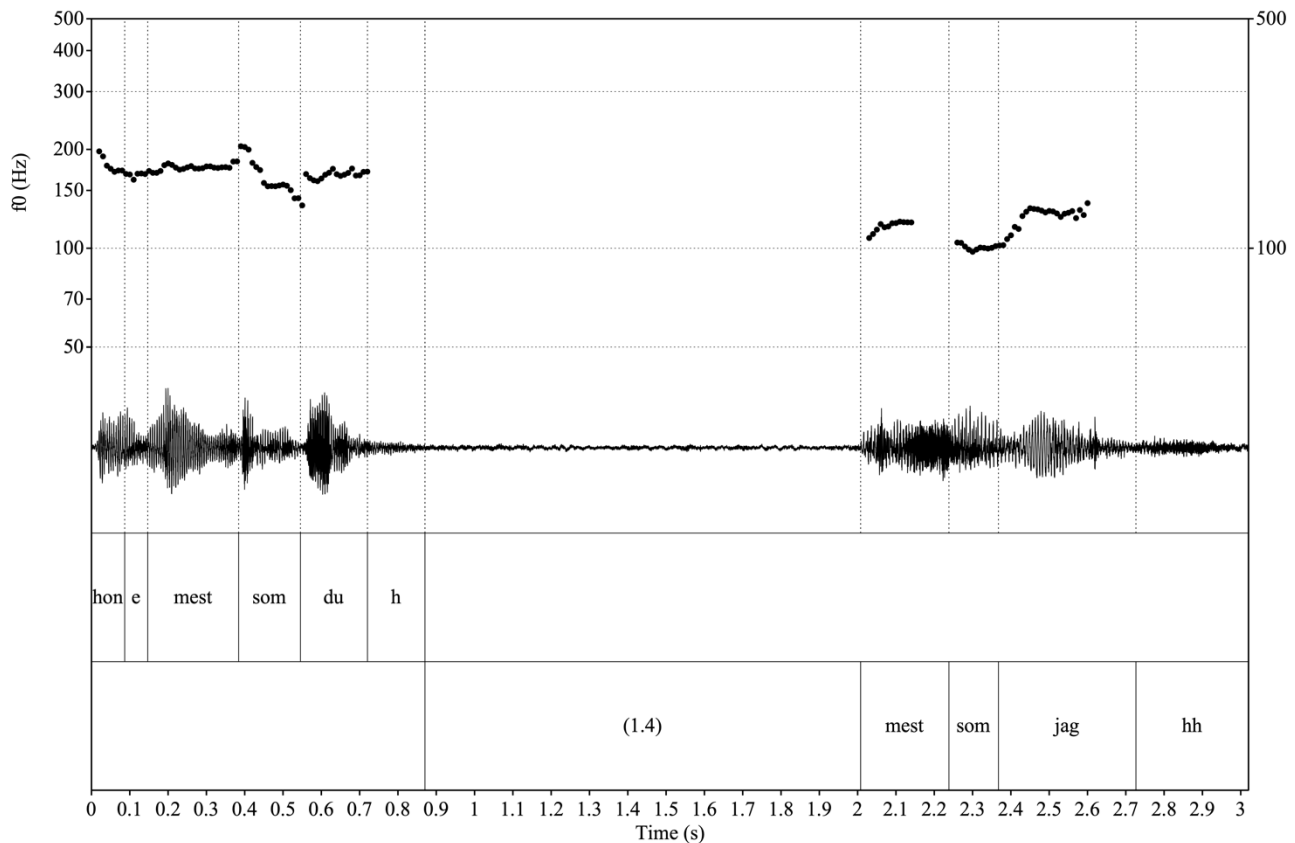


Figure 4. Pitch trace and waveform of line 9 and 11 in (4); female speaker in original turn, male speaker in repetition.

6.2 Displaying surprise at what was reported

While the speaker of the repetition turn in Extract (4) seems to challenge a possibly inaccurate characterization, we see in the following (5) a repetition that indicates surprise at what the other has said. In other words, the repetition speaker treats what is repeated as unexpected and newsworthy, but not as potentially incorrect or in need of rectification or justification; rather as a piece of information that calls for an affiliational response and/or the sharing of astonishment. In the extract we have the

couple Torsten and Siv, who are having coffee with their guest Ulla. Before the extract begins, the two women have been talking about how difficult it is to find craftsmen such as electricians and tinsmiths. In line 1, Torsten takes the turn and provides an example: he and Siv had made an inquiry about getting somebody to fix their tin roof, and the answer they received was that it could take *two years* to get somebody (l. 6).

(5) “Two years” (November coffee)

01 Torsten: å så fråga vi nån ställe att jahh (0.9)
 and then we asked some place like, well (0.9)

02 att öh kan man få: beställa någon
um can we get to hire someone

```
03      som sku komma å laga [plåtta(k) ]
      who could come and fix a tin roo(f)
```

04 Siv: [ja.]
yes

05 Torsten: ja: de (0.4) de .h h
well it (0.4) it .h h

06 de kan ta två år inna[n du få=]
 it can take two years before you ge-

07 Ulla: [↑↑TV]Å: Å: [R.]

two years

((turns towards T))

trouble her host and hostess have had (see Jefferson 1988 on troubles-talk). With the repetition *två år*, and the subsequent response practices, she takes the role of an active and affiliating recipient to Torsten's telling (cf. Tannen 2007[1989]:61). In contrast to the previous example (4), there is no calling on the original speaker to justify what they have said in the original turn, since Ulla expressly signals shared astonishment rather than trouble.

From the point of view of epistemic relations, Ulla knows less than Torsten about the reported situation, encountering some information that runs counter to her expectations. She thus produces a K-action which, however, is delivered in a very different way from other-initiated repair (Extract 2 "NATOM") or challenges (Extract 4 "Most like me"), where the repetition was delayed, indicative of some trouble. We can note in (5) that the repetition starts early in relation to the original turn, when the prosodic projection has not yet reached its endpoint (e.g. lack of final lengthening), the early onset of the repetition turn contributing to its function of displaying active listenership (cf. Vatanen 2014 on early onsets). Most notably, Ulla's surprised stance is enhanced by expressive (or "astonished") prosody (see Selting 1996), which is at one end of the extremes on a scale going from small/downgraded to large/upgraded prosody. Both words in the repetition turn – *två* and *år* – have a focal accent (Fig. 5; see Aho 2010) while the original turn has only one accent, on *två*. The focal accents consist of a rise-fall on each syllable in the repetition, the rise going above the speaker's modal voice range (of 450 Hz), and the final pitch falls to low. Focal accent is also signaled on both words (*två* and *år*) with increased loudness and prolongation of the sounds (see Heldner 2001), and on the second word it is further indicated with an initial glottal stop.

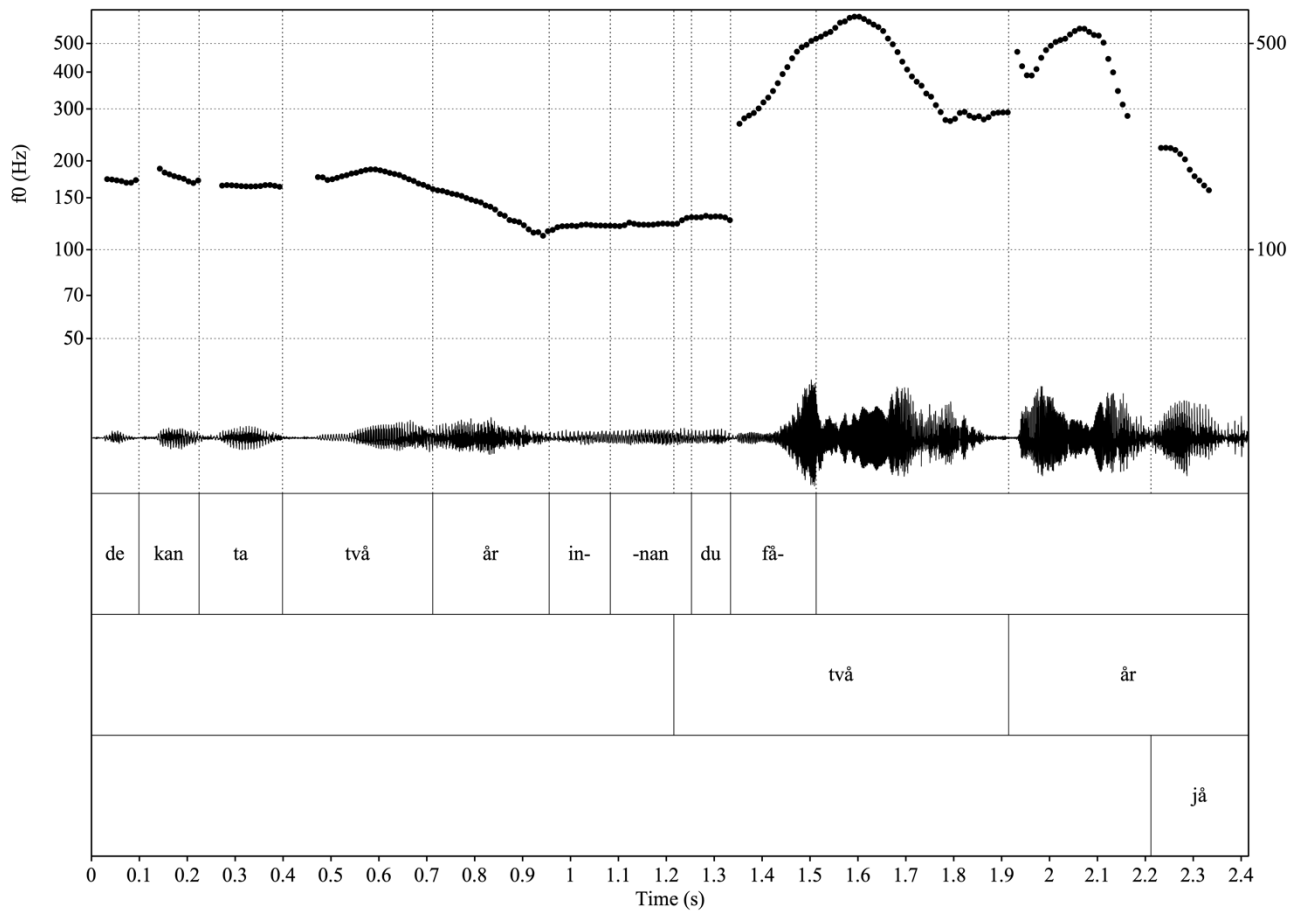


Figure 5. Pitch trace and waveform of line 6 in (5); male speaker in original turn, female speaker in repetition.

We can in addition note that the turn with the ritualized expression of disbelief, *e de sant* ‘is it true?’ in line 9, bears a prosodic resemblance to the repetition turn, as it also starts high in Ulla’s voice range and has a rise-fall on the accented syllable *sant*. In sum, the repetition together with its distinctive, even exaggerated prosodic design constitutes an aligning sequential next, affiliating with the newsworthiness of the co-participant’s talk.

We close this section with extract (6), which contains an instance of a repetition turn that is prefaced by the particle *aj* ‘oh’ (l- 6) and deals with surprise and newsworthiness. The particle *aj* has

- 08 Sanna: [aj **mörkchoko** **också**. ((S has turned to K))
 oh dark chocolate too
- 09 Marina: mm (.) jā, ja tror ja \$så den\$ ((turned to both S & K))
 mm *yes, I think I saw it*
- 10 [men ja va [int så intresserad.
 but I was not so interested
- 11 Sanna: [what₂ ((in English))
- 12 Klara: [jā där e en mörkchoko.
 yes there is a dark chocolate

The third participant, Klara, has been standing in front of the kitchen countertop with her back towards Sanna and Marina. In line 5 she joins in and, still not facing the others, says that there is also a plate of dark chocolate. Marina picks up this information in overlap in lines 6–7, but her gaze direction and body posture show that she directs her words to Sanna. Marina starts to say *jā men de e mörk-* ‘yes but it’s dark-’ furrowing her brows simultaneously, signaling that dark chocolate is not to her taste. However, Sanna reacts in line 8 directly to Klara’s informing, skipping Marina’s incipient turn. She turns her head towards Klara and produces the repetition *aj mörkchoko också* ‘oh, dark chocolate, too,’ that picks up the modifier of the nominal compound (*mörkchokoplatta* ‘dark chocolate plate’). This partial repetition is prefaced by the newsmark *aj* and followed by the additive adverb *också* ‘also, too.’ The initial *aj* indexes realization of something previously unknown and significant for the recipient and it thus prompts a confirmation and an account from the others (see also Stevanovic at al., this issue).

The final *också* marks that the new information brings in an option of interest (dark chocolate vs. other chocolate) (cf. König 1993 on focus particles). The questioning *what* (said in English) in line 11 indexes ritual bewilderment: Sanna treats Klara's informing as a disclosure of something potentially scandalizing that calls for an account. This repetition then is not affiliating in the way the one in Extract 5 ("Two years") that shares the astonishment with the others. Klara, who disclosed the new information, simply confirms it by repetition in line 12, but Marina – the partner in chocolate eating – provides a hedged account in lines 9–10: she *believes* that she saw a plate of dark chocolate but she was *not so interested* (suggesting that this is why she withheld the information).

The action of the repetition turn becomes recognizable through epistemics and lexical and prosodic cues. The producer of the repetition turn, Sanna, does not know about the plate of dark chocolate until Klara mentions it. The particle *aj* marks this update of knowledge status as the key to her reaction; there is not a problem of understanding the repeated item or questioning its validity. The prosodic features of the repetition resemble those of the repetition *två år* in (5), see Fig. 5. The repetition turn has two strong focal accents, on *mörk-* and *ock-*, the former realized with a rise-fall and the latter with an upstep and a downstep (see Fig. 6). There is also a glottal stop at the beginning of *ock-*. The pitch onset of the repeated item is higher than in the two previous turns and the pitch span is much wider, more than 15 semitones wider in the repetition. Furthermore, the repetition is louder than the original, and still remarkably loud on the final syllable of the turn. Similar to the repetition in (5), this repetition turn thus displays features of *upgraded prosody* (see Curl 2005; Ogden 2006; see also Couper-Kuhlen, this issue) when compared to the original turn. This instance, then, shows us again an example where the gradient qualities of prosody are used to display a certain speaker stance.

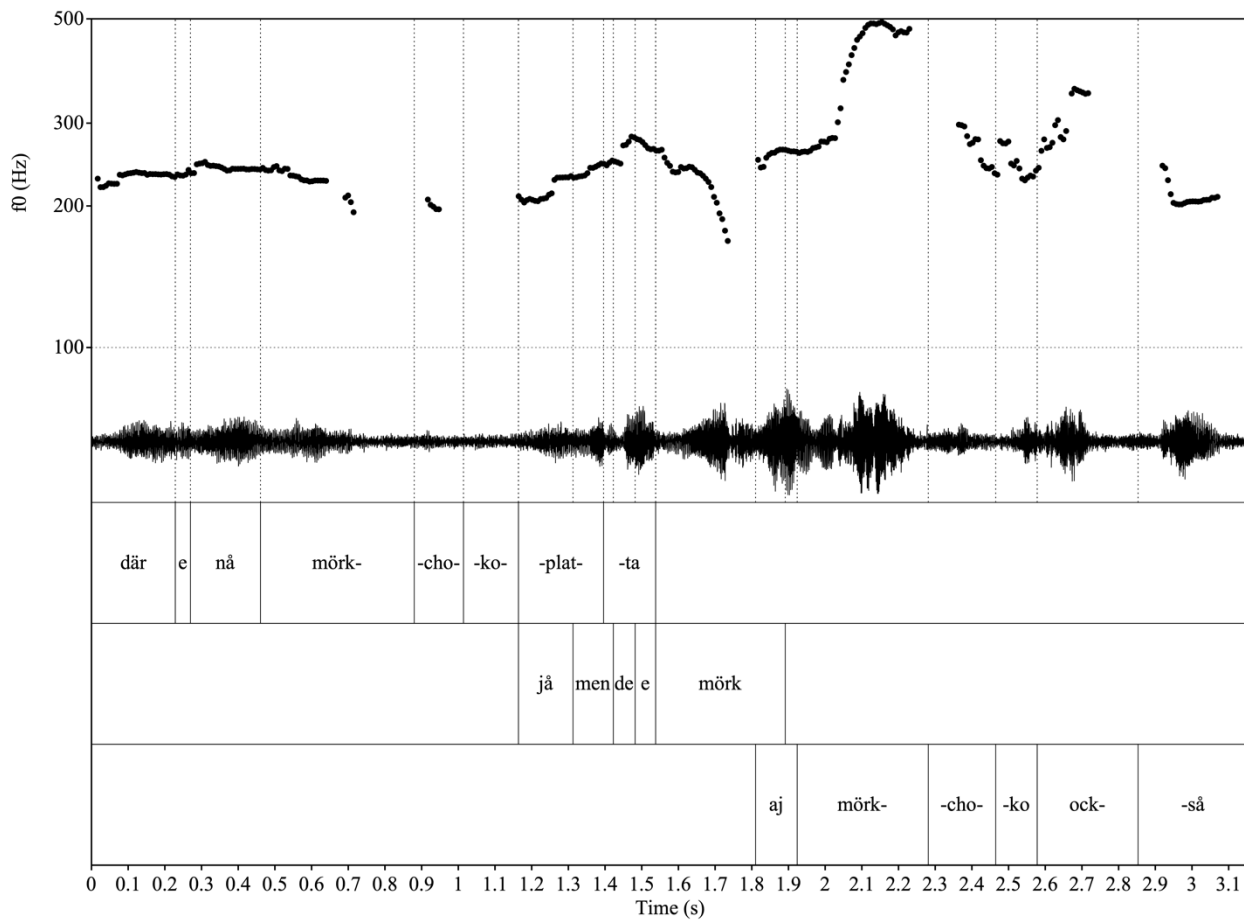


Figure 6. Pitch trace and waveform of lines 5 and 8 in (6); female speakers. (The pitch trace in the overlapping talk follows the speaker that starts first in both cases.)

All the examples presented in this section (including subsections 6.1 and 6.2) have in common that the action accomplished through the repetition extends beyond other-initiation of repair to deal with the unexpectedness of what has been said. At the same time, however, we can identify two distinct types of action in this family: challenges (Extracts 3 “Terde” and 4 “Most like me”) and displays of surprise (Extracts 5 “Two years” and 6 “Dark chocolate”). Repetitions signaling surprise (or updated knowledge) have significantly large and upgraded prosodic features as they are produced high in the speaker’s voice range and with a higher onset and a considerably wider pitch span than in the original

(cf. Author XXXX on Finland Swedish; Selting 1996 on German). The intonation contour is overall falling, but the pitch on the accented syllable may be rising-falling. Repetitions challenging acceptability also tend to have a higher onset and a wider pitch span than the original, and are also upgraded in that sense, but their prosody is generally “smaller,” or more moderate, on the prosodic gradient than in displays of surprise.

Prosodic form aside, however, an important difference between the functional subtypes of repetition seems to lie in epistemics. The speaker of the repetition turn is in a K+ position in challenging repetitions, which also makes the action of the repetition recognizable as a K+ action, signaling an aspect of “disagreement” (see Robinson 2013), i.e. claiming that there is something “wrong” in the co-participant’s talk (see Benjamin & Walker 2013). This is different from repetitions that display surprise in which the speaker of the repetition turn is in a K– position. However, these repetitions do not index trouble but affiliate with the astonished stance of the prior speaker or ventilate the experience of the speaker’s updated knowledge status. Such an update can come across as news that is significant for the recipient (Extract 6 “Dark chocolate”), which is marked with the change-of-state token *aj*. In addition, we see in both (5) and (6) that “the performance of surprise” stretches over several turns in the sequence (see Persson, this issue), which seems to be an essential sequential cue for the action of ‘being surprised.’

When the repetition signals affiliative listenership (Extract 5 “Two years”), the response consists solely of a confirming particle, the most frequent being *ja* and *jå*, but the stronger, reduplicated form *jå ja* may be used to affiliate with the display of surprise/disbelief (see also Persson, this issue). When the repetition signals a challenge (Extracts 3 “Terde” and 4 “Most like me”), a justification of an opinion will additionally follow (see also Benjamin & Walker 2013).

7. Other-repetitions used for registering

In this section we discuss other-repetitions that do not address an obvious interactional problem or treat something as unexpected but instead confirm reception in different ways. Generally, these repetitions have a function of registering what the previous speaker has said, and through the repetition they indicate that intersubjectivity between the speakers – regarding hearing, reference and recognition of what has been said – is intact, or at least not problematized (see Schegloff 1997; Persson 2015; Yokomori, Yasui & Hajikano 2017; Rossi, this issue).

Repetitions with an unmarked registering function are very typical of our collection from institutional settings, such as service encounters and sociolinguistic interviews. Extract (7) gives us an example from an exchange at a ticket office. The customer (CUS) asks the staff member (STA) a few details about an event: the customer has started to move away from the counter but turns back to check the time of the event. She produces a structurally incomplete declarative, *å de va klockan...* ‘and it was at [time]...’ with final level intonation in the middle of the speaker’s range (see Fig. 7). The staff member treats it as a “fill-in-the-blank question” (Persson 2017) by responding with an element that completes the question where it was left off, with the time reference *ett* ‘one’ (l. 3). After a short gap (l. 4), the customer repeats this reference (l. 5).

(7) “One” (HLUC:004)

01 CUS: å de va (.) klockan,
 and it was (.) at, ((reference to clock))

02 (0.3)

03 STA: **ett,**
 one

04 (0.2)

05 CUS: **ett, h**
 one h
 ((customer nods, turns away from the counter))

06 (0.2)

07 STA: ja
 yes

08 (0.5)

09 CUS: °jå tack°
 yes thank you

When the customer produces the repetition, she nods and turns away from the counter to leave the office, thereby signaling that the matter has reached a successful conclusion. After the customer has turned away, however, the employee further confirms with the particle *ja* (l. 7) – a confirmation which in this case is not an elicited but an optional move (cf. Persson 2015), i.e. the repetition is treated as “response-worthy” (Schegloff 1997: 527). The encounter is finalized with the customer’s acknowledging thanking turn that also serves as leave-taking.

The customer's bodily orientation away from the exchange also contributes to the action. If any trouble were involved, she would probably have maintained her bodily orientation towards the counter (cf. Floyd, Manrique, Rossi & Torreira 2016). The third turn position, in which the repetition occurs, is indicative of sequence closure (see Schegloff 2007) and is typical of the registerings in our data. As regards prosodic design (see Fig. 7), the repetition differs from the previous examples in which some kind of trouble or unexpectedness was involved. The repetition in line 5 is lower-pitched than the previous turn by the customer (l. 1), and, taking into account the different baseline between a male and a female speaker, it is prosodically matched in terms of onset and span to the original turn (l. 3). The prosodic features of this repetition are in this sense tilted towards the "small" end of the scale. All this conveys that the repetition does not treat the previous turn as something newsworthy, surprising or problematic that should be repaired or elaborated on; rather, it does the opposite by marking that an epistemic equilibrium between the participants has been reached.

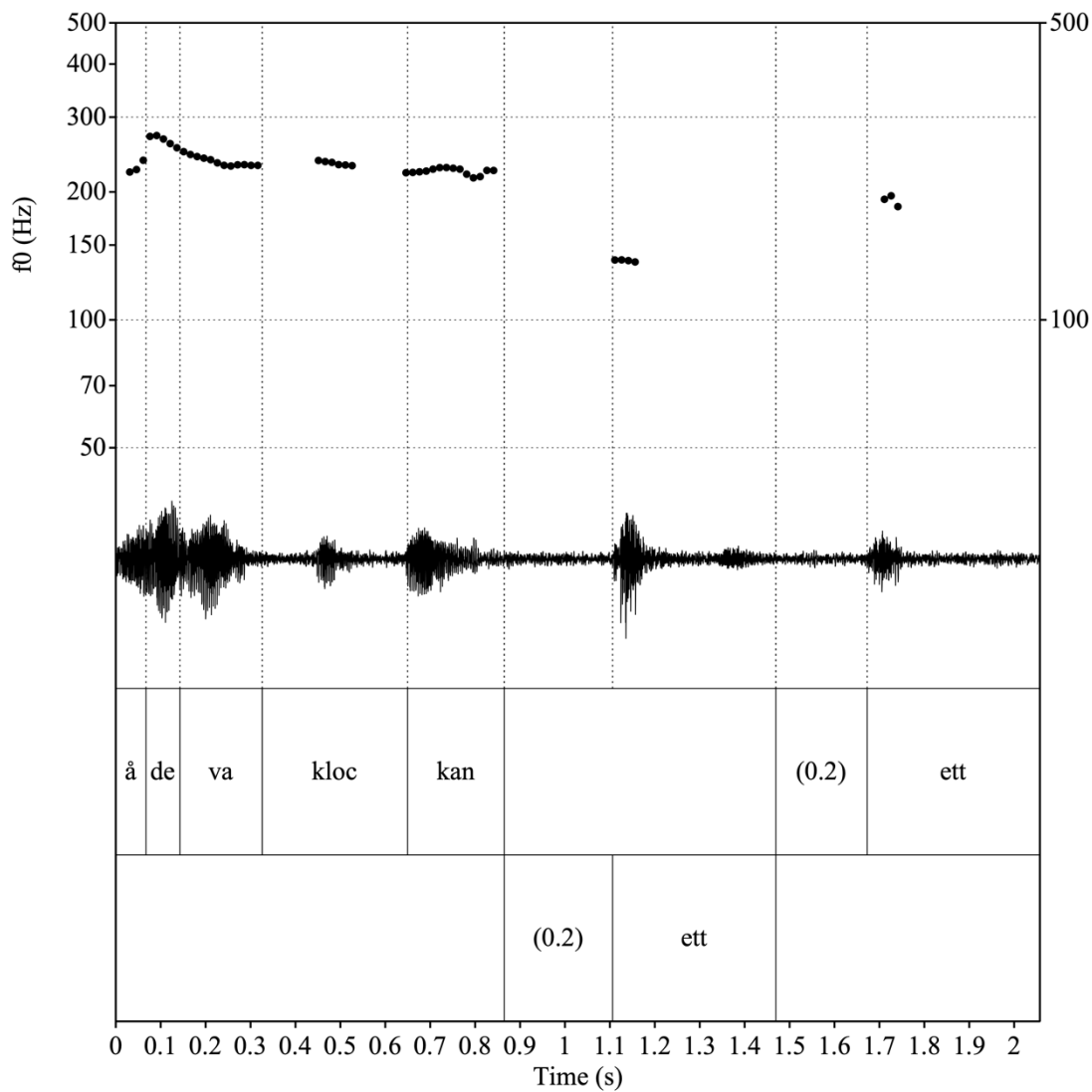


Figure 7. Pitch trace and waveform of line 3 and 5 in (7); male speaker in original turn, female speaker in repetition.

Extract (8) provides an instance of a registering with an additional functional aspect. This is an episode from a family meeting in which the father is acting as chair and his three children (aged 9–15) are the other participants. We enter the conversation when the father turns to the elder son, Kasper (l. 2), inviting a contribution from him. They have been talking about the size of the children's monthly

allowance, which is what Kasper refers to in line 3 with his hedged complaint *ja e int så nöjd me min* ‘I’m not so happy with mine.’

(8) “Not so happy” (Family meeting)

01 Oscar: ja [::,
 yeah

02 Father: [okej bra? (0.4) Kasper,
 okay good (0.4) Kasper

03 Kasper: **ja e int så nöjd me min:.** := ((*looking down at the table*))
 I am not so happy with mine ((i.e. monthly allowance))

04 Father: **=>du e int så nöjd me °din°<.**
 you’re not so happy with yours

05 (.)

06 berätta vaffö du e inte °nöjd°.
 tell me why you’re not happy

07 (0.2) ((*F leans back with folded arms, gaze to K*))

08 Kasper: m:: va ha: A- äö: de ha A- de Alma
 m:: what has A- um that has A- that Alma

09 (i månad [ska göra,)
 per month will do

10 Alma: [man ska int jämföra? (0.2) du sku säga
you shouldn't compare? (0.2) you should say

11 vaffö du int e nöjd, (.) just bara du.
why you're not happy, (.) just simply you.

The father repeats Kasper's turn fully (with a deictic shift) with no gap. Although there is no overt interactional problem or surprise involved, the repetition serves as a preface to the father's immediately ensuing request (l. 6) to Kasper to elaborate on his complaint about the allowance. In a halting manner, the son starts to refer to his big sister Alma's allowance, to her resentment. Here then the registering repetition does not work towards sequence closure but serves as a platform to the next step in the father's project (see Bolden 2009 on repeat-prefaced responses). Note that the father could have chosen to overtly challenge or initiate repair on his son's complaint. Registering it instead contributes to "taking in" the complaint and building a more "diplomatic" or negotiating stance (cf. Lee 2016), although some disalignment can be implied (see Bolden 2009).

The prosodic design of the repetition is characteristically "small" and *downgraded* (see Fig. 8; cf. Curl 2005; Ogden 2006). The repetition replicates the falling intonation of the original turn; in fact, it continues the falling contour of the original where it left off. The repetition turn is produced with a narrower pitch span than in the original, and it is faster and softer, ending in a whisper.

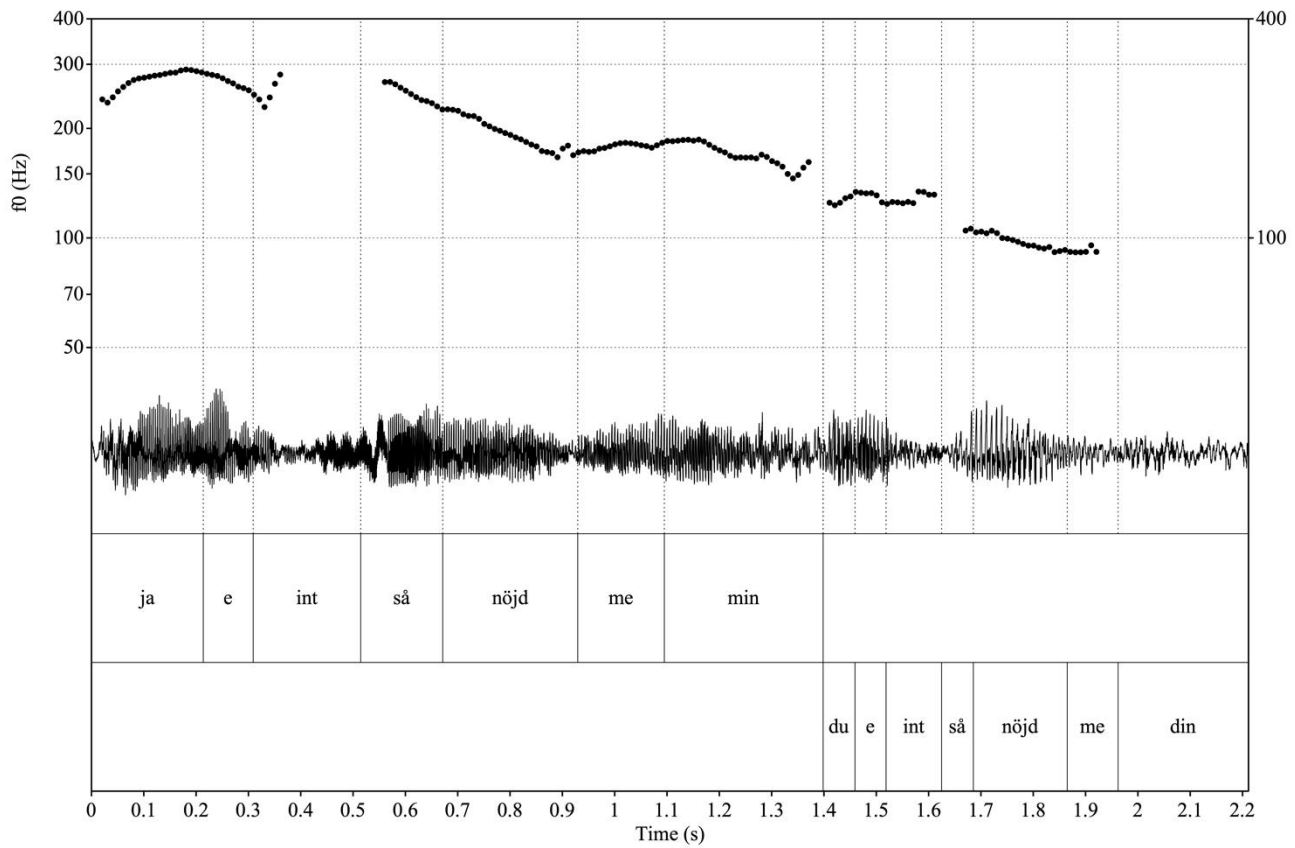


Figure 8. Pitch trace and waveform of line 3 and 5 in (8); child in original turn, male speaker in repetition.

Repetitions used for registering occur in all the datasets but are most frequent in our service encounters (39 out of 63 registrations), which suggests a link between registering and certain activity types. Proper names and numerals are the most commonly repeated items, for the obvious reason that the service encounters deal with the names of customers and events and series of numbers (for dates, prices and phone numbers). Evidently, correct reception of this kind of information is important for a successful transaction, and repetition is one way of doing a receipt and accepting the information. Registering repetitions have in general downgraded prosodic qualities (cf. Curl 2005; Ogden 2006), that is, they have the same or lower onset than the original turn, a narrower pitch span and a faster tempo. They are

thus at the “small” end of the prosodic gradient. Typical registerings are indicative of sequence closure, usually in a sequence of *question–answer–registering the answer*. They are not thus necessarily confirmed by a further response token, but the co-participant may, like staff members often do in service encounters, volunteer to confirm with a particle like *ja* ‘yes’ (Extract 7 “One”).

8. Summary and conclusion

This study has reported findings of how participants produce and understand other-repetitions in Finland Swedish conversations. The central functions expressed by repetition were initiating repair of problems of hearing and/or understanding, dealing with unexpectedness – either by questioning the acceptability of what has been said or by displaying surprise at it – and registering a piece of information. As for the design of these actions, the study shows, in line with earlier studies on Finland Swedish (see e.g. Huhtamäki 2015b), that intonation – and prosody more broadly – is not an absolute distinctive feature. Instead, function ascription relies on a cluster of features. In addition to prosody, certain particles and embodied practices help identification, but very much of the “meaning” also lies with the sequence (cf. Schegloff, Ochs & Thompson 1996:40), for example, the absence or presence of a gap between the original and repetition turn (e.g. Extract 4 “Most like me” vs. Extract 5 “Two years”) and the relative knowledge of participants about what is being repeated, i.e. epistemics (e.g. Extract 2 “NATOM” vs. Extract 3 “Terde”).

As in general in Finland Swedish, the final intonation is falling in all types of other-repetitions (70%, N=71/102, in the collection used for this study), but rising contours occur in some repair-oriented repetitions (Extract 2 “NATOM”). This suggests that speakers of Finland Swedish do not make use of intonation contours as a reliable means to signal differences in action. When repair is at

issue, the repetition has typically a moderately higher onset and a wider pitch span than the original and is produced higher in the speaker's voice range (Extracts 1 "Harder" and 2 "NATOM"). When speakers express surprise and disbelief at what is reported, they use upgraded prosody, possibly in combination with a high rise-fall contour (Extracts 5 "Two years" and 6 "Dark chocolate"). When the speaker questions the acceptability of the original turn, the prosody is in between the prosody used for repair and the features used with displays of surprise (Extracts 3 "Terde" and 4 "Most like me"). In contrast, registering repetitions are usually produced with low pitch and a narrow pitch span, fast tempo, and quite often with an intonation contour that reproduces that of the original turn (Extracts 7 "One" and 8 "Not so happy") (see also Couper-Kuhlen on English, this issue).

Epistemics plays an important role for action recognition in repeats (see Robinson 2013 for English). A repetition by a speaker who has less knowledge about what was repeated is readily treated as a repair initiator (Extract 2 "NATOM"). When the speaker of the repetition turn is at least as knowing as the speaker of the original turn, the repetition comes across as a challenge of what the other said, calling for a justification (Extracts 3 "Terde" and 4 "Most like me"). Displays of surprise, on the other hand, share a K- configuration with repair initiations, but are distinguished not only through a more vivid prosody but sequential aspects like timing (no delay) and accompanying displays of *pro forma* disbelief). In addition, the "newsmark" *aj* can be used to indicate an update, rather than trouble, in the speaker's knowledge status (Extract 6 "Dark chocolate").

The lexico-grammatical status of the repeated element has some bearing on the repetition's pragmatic function. Reference, connected to clausal subjects and objects in the original turn, is most commonly the target of repair-oriented repetitions. That is, repair initiation has typically to do with information on persons or phenomena that are involved in a situation or process. Predication, reference, and temporal and locative adjuncts are targeted in reactions to unexpectedness, which means that expectation tends to become an issue when the original turn is about actions and temporal and spatial

relations. Finally, registering repetitions, especially those found in service encounters, target proper names and numerals, i.e. information on customers, events, dates and sums of money.

The way a repetition turn is responded to depends on the function ascribed to that turn. When the repetition addresses problems of hearing or understanding the response is initiated with a confirming particle, *ja*, *jo* and *jå* ('yes'), and followed by a clarification or specification. When the repetition challenges the use of an expression, a justification will follow. Aligning and affiliative repetitions that signal surprise are responded to with a confirming particle, possibly in a reduplicated form that underlines the veracity of what was reported and affiliates with the displayed surprise (see Persson, this issue). Registering repetitions do not usually make a response relevant, but a confirming particle may occur in a fourth position following a third-turn registering (Extract 7 "One").

An overview of our analysis of prosodic, grammatical and contextual features of Finland Swedish other-repetitions, as well as responses to them, is presented in Table 2.

Table 2. An overview of the role of prosody, grammar, context and responses according to the functional category of other-repetitions

	Prosody	Grammar	Context: sequence, epistemics	Response
1. Repetitions dealing with problems of hearing/understanding				
– Ex. 1, 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Final fall – Occasionally final rise – Moderately high onset – Moderately high pitch span – Moderately high in speaker's voice range – Possibly slow 	– Repetition targets reference (subject, object).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Delayed – K– action 	Confirming particle + clarification or specification
2. Repetitions dealing with problems of expectation				
<i>a) Challenging acceptability</i> – Ex. 3, 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Final fall – High onset – Wide pitch span 	– Repetition targets reference, predication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Delayed – K+ action 	Confirming particle + justification

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Possibly upstep in focal accent – Possibly slow 	(predicate verb or predicative elements), temporal and locative adjuncts		
<i>b) Displaying surprise</i> – Ex. 5, 6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Final fall – Very high onset – Very wide pitch span – Very high in speaker’s voice range – Rise-fall on accented syllable – Possibly slow and loud 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Repetition targets reference, predication (predicate verb or predicative elements), temporal and locative adjuncts – Possibly an initial change-of-state token (<i>aj</i>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Early onset – K– action – Often performed over several turns 	Confirming particle, possibly reduplicated + possibly an account
3. Repetitions used for registering				
– Ex. 7, 8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Final fall – Low onset – Narrow pitch span – Possibly absence of accents – Possibly fast 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Repetition targets predication (proper names, numerals), temporal and locative adjuncts 	– Often in a third turn	Confirming particle or no response

To conclude, our results suggest that when there are functional affinities among the repetitions there are also similarities in prosodic cues, specifically in terms of the *scaling* of the pitch variations. Figure 9 depicts a general cline from “small” to “large” prosody (see Pillet-Shore 2012) and functional categories associated with the “size” of prosody. Repetitions dealing with a “problem,” either as repair initiators or challenges, have most in common also in prosodic terms. On the other hand, repetitions displaying surprise and registering, respectively, are at the extreme ends as regards prosodic intensity and interactional function. The former have a very high pitch onset, very wide pitch span and strong prominences and they make a response, account or further telling relevant. Registerings have a low pitch onset, narrow pitch span and no prominences, and they implicate closure of a sequence. These bundles of prosodic features appear as *upgraded* and *downgraded* respectively in relation to the

original turn (cf. Curl 2005; Ogden 2006). It is thus a question of *relative prosody*. In addition, *individual prosody* plays a role, as the production of the repeat in the speaker's voice range may inform about pragmatic function, for example, in the case of astonishment (Extract 5 "Two years").

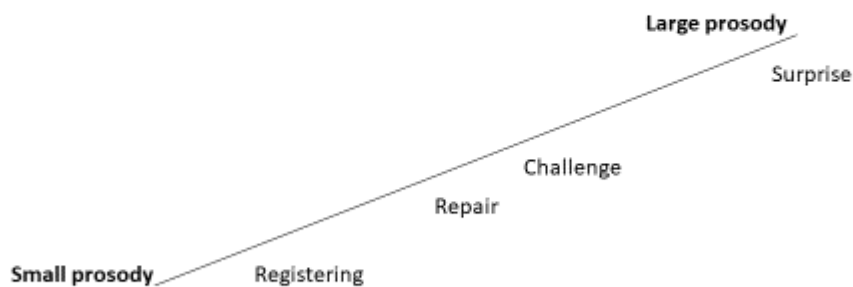


Figure 9. A symbolic representation of a cline from small to large prosody that matches action categories along the prosodic gradient.

In general, the results imply that Finland Swedish is a language variety in which melodic alternations are not prominently decisive for the ascription of pragmatic meanings. In other words, we did not find that prosodic cues were used in a *discrete* way, but in a *gradient* way. This is in many respects different from languages like French or Italian, where discrete distinctions are more important, although gradient ones also play a role in them in that upgraded features correspond with surprise and downgraded features with registering (see Persson, this issue, Rossi, this issue). There are nonetheless more similarities to Finnish, since pitch onset and pitch span are the most important prosodic features

for distinguishing between actions, possibly enhanced by the presence of a change-of-state token (see Stevanovic et al., this issue). Such convergences with Finnish in the prosodic (and lexical) cues are additional evidence for how Finland Swedish and Finnish are influenced by each other (cf. Saari 1995), as the languages are spoken in the same speech community where bilingualism prevails, especially among the speakers of Swedish.

Acknowledgements

We are deeply indebted to Giovanni Rossi for his guidance and extensive comments on our work on this chapter. We would also like to thank Rasmus Persson and Richard Ogden, who commented on earlier versions of our text, as well as three anonymous reviewers for very helpful feedback. In addition, we wish to thank Madeleine Forsén for making a number of new recordings for our corpus and excerpting cases of potential interest in that material. This study was supported by the *Finnish Center of Excellence in Research on Intersubjectivity in Interaction* (Academy of Finland/University of Helsinki). We thank the research program *Interaction and Variation in Pluricentric Languages* (funded by Riksbankens Jubileumsfond, grant nr. M12-0137:1) for access to data on Swedish service encounters.

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